

Miguel Ángel Marín & Màrius Bernadó (eds.)

Instrumental music in late eighteenth-century Spain



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and Màrius Bernadó

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VIOLIN DUETS IN MADRID:
*DIVERTIMENTO ALL'EUROPEA**

Ana Lombardía

This essay deals with a genre that is almost invisible in music-historical studies: the duet for melodic instruments without accompaniment. However, it was intensely cultivated in the period ca. 1750–ca. 1830, when its popularity achieved pan-European dimensions. During those years, hundreds of duets were composed and disseminated from London to Cracow and from Hamburg to Naples. Although multiple instrumentations were used, the combination of two equal instruments – such as violins, flutes or oboes – predominated. From ca. 1770 onwards, other combinations were increasingly used, including violin and viola, violin and cello, two violas and two cellos. Paris and London were the main centres of publication of this music, but a large proportion of it was composed by virtuoso instrumentalists active elsewhere in Europe.¹ As Rudolf Rasch has pointed

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1 Within the scarce bibliography on the duet, a recent study by Rudolf Rasch offers an overview of the genre throughout the eighteenth century, together with a deep analysis of Boccherini's op. 3: Rudolf Rasch, "Luigi Boccherini's six duets for two violins, op. 3", in *Boccherini studies 2*, ed. Christian Speck (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2009), pp. 23–112. Rasch considers Paris as the main centre of production and consumption of duets from 1710 onwards, as well as one of the two main centres of publication of this music – together with London – from 1750 to 1775 (pp. 26–30, 110–112), and he outlines the chronology of the use of different instrumentations in duets (pp. 110–112). Previous studies on this genre include Erich Doflein, "Das Violin-Duo in der Musikgeschichte", *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 27 (1972), pp. 332–343 (a short overview); Ulrich Mazurwicz, *Das Streichduett in Wien von 1760 bis zum Tode Joseph Haydns* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982) (a monographic study about string duets in Vienna during the second half of the century, which constitutes the most complete case-study of the cul-

out, Italy seems to have played a central role in the creation of duets, since it constitutes not only the place of publication of some of the earliest works but also the homeland and main place of activity of numerous outstanding composers in the genre.² The heyday of the duet in Europe took place in the approximate period 1765–1815, although particular local chronologies can be detected. For instance, in the case of Vienna, Mazurówiczc considers the year 1784 as a turning point between the early-classic [*Frühklassik*] duets and the classic [*Hochklassik*] ones.³

With the aim of expanding the limits of this map, which is still out of focus given the scarcity of specific studies, this essay offers a first overview of the chronology, composers, style, functions and performance contexts of the violin duet in Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century, paying particular attention to Madrid. To date, the cultivation of this

tivation of the genre in a single city undertaken to date); and Ulrich Mazurówiczc, “Die Pedagogische Verwendung des Streichduetts”, in *Festschrift Hubert Unverricht zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karlheinz Schlager (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1992), pp. 161–172 (an approach to this repertoire from the point of view of instrumental pedagogy).

- 2 Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini’s six duets”, pp. 29–30. A collection of early Italian duets has been published: *Two-part Italian didactic music: printed collections of the Renaissance and Baroque (1524–1744)*, ed. Andrea Borstein, 3 vols. (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2004). There are a handful of studies about composers active mainly in Italy who performed or published duets abroad, such as Pietro Nardini (composer of flute duets which may have had a didactic use in Florence ca. 1770), Emmanuelle Barbella (active in Naples, although he published several collections in Paris) and Alessandro Rolla (whose catalogue includes 244 duets, 163 of them published between 1786 and 1841). See Nikolaus Delius, “I duetti per flauti di Nardini e la ‘scuola flautistica’ a Firenze”, in *Pietro Nardini, violinista e compositore: atti del convegno (Livorno, 12 febbraio 1994)*, ed. Federico Marri, *Quaderni della labronica*, 64 (Livorno: Comune di Livorno, 1996), pp. 35–51; Chappell White, “Barbella, Emanuele”, in *Grove music online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01990> [accessed 23 April 2014]; Luigi Inzaghi, *Alessandro Rolla: vita e opere del grande musicista maestro di Niccolò Paganini* ([Milano]: La Spiga, 1984), pp. 40–50; Ulrich Drüner, “I duetti per strumenti a corde di Alessandro Rolla”, in *Alessandro Rolla: atti del convegno (Pavia, 22–24 ottobre 1981)*, eds. Luigi Inzaghi & Luigi Tomaselli (Pavia: Amministrazione provinciale di Pavia, Assessorato all’Istruzione, 1984), pp. 117–141; and Ugo Piovano, “I duetti per flauto e violino di Alessandro Rolla nel panorama contemporaneo”, in *Alessandro Rolla (1757–1841): un caposcuola dell’arte violinistica lombarda (Atti del convegno di studi, Pavia, Università degli studi, 4–6 maggio 2007)*, eds. Mariateresa Dellaborra, *Strumenti della ricerca musicale*, 15 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2010), pp. 323–355. On the cultivation of the duet in Poland, see Karol Mrowiec, “Duet na dwie skrzypiec Z. S. Grossmanna”, in *Studia Hieronymo Feicht septuagenario dedicata*, ed. Zofia Lissa (Krakow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967), pp. 337–349.
- 3 Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini’s six duets”, p. 110; Mazurówiczc, *Das Streichduett in Wien*, pp. 67–141.

genre in Spain has not been researched, although specific duets are mentioned in the existing surveys on music-publishing in the country, as well as in monographic studies about José Castel and Gaetano Brunetti, who were active in the Spanish capital.⁴ In any case, general issues about the duet in this geographical context have not been explored yet. The two main questions that will be addressed here are: (1) can we draw parallels between Madrid and other musical centres such as Paris and Vienna, where the genre was intensely cultivated especially from 1765 onwards?; and (2) to what extent was Madrid integrated in the international trade of violin duets and in the stylistic trends associated to this music abroad?

The most interesting aspect of this repertoire from the point of view of musical genres is perhaps its adaptability to a surprising diversity of functions. This, in turn, raises the question of whether it should be considered as a single musical genre or as a set of repertoires whose common denominator is the use of two melodic instruments but respond to different musical features and performance contexts. Taking into account the duets composed outside Spain in the second half of the eighteenth century, at least three functions can be detected: (1) an entertainment function, exemplified by the dance pieces, arrangements of songs and variations that were fashionable in Vienna;⁵ (2) a didactic function, exemplified by exercises

4 The main studies about music-publishing in eighteenth century Spain are Carlos José Gosálvez, *La edición musical española hasta 1936: guía para la datación de partituras*, Colección de monografías, 1 (Madrid: Asociación Española de Documentación Musical, 1995), pp. 32–44; Miguel Ángel Marín, “Music-selling in Boccherini’s Madrid”, *Early music* 33/2 (2005), pp. 165–177; and “El mercado de la música”, in *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 4: *La música en el siglo XVIII*, ed. José Máximo Leza (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), pp. 439–461. The latter offers an updated overview of the patterns of production, dissemination and consumption of music in Madrid during the second half of the eighteenth century. Regarding studies on specific composers, an analysis of a movement from a duet by José Castel can be found in Juan Pablo Fernández-Cortés, “La música instrumental de José Castel (1737–1807)”, *Príncipe de Viana* 67 (2006), pp. 525–530; this article also provides an updated biography of the composer. The recent catalogue of the works by Gaetano Brunetti includes several pages on his duets: Germán Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti (1744–1798): catálogo crítico, temático y cronológico*, Colección de monografías, 8 (Madrid: Asociación Española de Documentación Musical, 2005), pp. 99–112, 401 and 431–438. A search for the terms “duo/s”, “duet/s”, “duetto/i”, “divertimento/i” and “violin duos” in different languages and in different fields in the database RILM does not show any results related to Spain. Likewise, the main dictionary on music in Spain and Hispanic America does not deal with this topic; see *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares, 10 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 1999–2002).

5 Mazurówicz’s study on Viennese duets makes a clear distinction between “classic” duets and “additional repertoire” [*Weitere werke*]; the second group embraces varia-

included in instrumental treatises⁶ as well as by works conceived for beginners, as indicated by explicit denominations such as “duo facile”;⁷ and (3) as a genre of chamber music, i.e. more complex works both from the standpoint of composition and from that of performance. The works in this third group were appropriate both for the perfection of the technique of advanced instrumentalists and for their listening in private or semiprivate concerts. Works entitled “duo dialogué” or “duo concertant”, where the two instruments share the protagonism, fit in this category.⁸

These three functions often overlapped, especially the first and second ones, resulting in works suitable both for entertaining and for teaching. Furthermore, the use of the duet as a pedagogical tool responded also to practical reasons; for example, a teacher of violin or flute could accompany his pupils without using a polyphonic instrument.⁹ Regarding the chamber

tions, dance music, arrangements and didactic duets; see Mazurowicz, *Das Streichduett in Wien*, pp. 142–159.

- 6 Numerous eighteenth-century violin treatises include exercises in the form of duets. Examples are provided by Corrette (Paris, 1738), Tessarini (Roma, 1741), Leopold Mozart (Augsburg, 1756) and l'Abbé le Fils (Paris, 1776); see Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini's six duets”, p. 29; Mazurowicz, “Die Pedagogische verwendung des streichduetts”.
- 7 Some titles that indicate a pedagogical function are, for example: Bartolomeo Campagnoli, *Six duos pour deux violons, faciles et progressives*, op. 14 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, s.a. [ca. 1800]), and Antonio Bartolomeo Bruni, *Six duos très faciles pour deux violons... Œuvre XV^{ème}* (Paris: Imbault, s.a. [ca. 1797]). See Chappell White, “Campagnoli, Bartolomeo”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04668> [accessed 23 April 2014]; Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini's six duets”, p. 111; Leland Fox, et al. “Bruni, Antonio Bartolomeo”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04182> [accessed 23 April 2014].
- 8 An example of chamber duets with the title “duo concertant” is Giovanni Battista Viotti, *Six duos concertans pour deux violins, 2^{me} livre*, op. 2 (Paris: Sieber, s.a. [ca. 1790]); see Chappell White, “Viotti, Giovanni Battista”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29483> [accessed 23 April 2014]. As Rasch observes, Spohr's duets from the first decades of the 19th century exemplify the next step in the diversification of functions of the genre: the performance in public concerts; see Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini's six duets”, p. 112. This phenomenon also occurred in Vienna; see Mazurowicz, *Das Streichduett in Wien*, pp. 169–172.
- 9 “A great deal of music, mostly for two recorders, two flutes or two violins, was published during the century, primarily for amateurs to play (and also serving a useful educational purpose, especially where an instrumental teacher did not have the skill to supply keyboard accompaniment or, indeed, where no keyboard instrument was available)”, according to Michael Tilmouth, “Duet”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08263> [accessed 23 April 2014].

duets, they share significant features with the rest of the repertoire, namely the inclusion of movements based on dances – almost always as the last movement (the same position they usually occupied in contemporary violin sonatas) – and the use of a wide variety of textures, not necessarily contrapuntally complex (as will be shown below). Given these parallels, together with the above-mentioned overlapping of functions, it makes sense to consider all three categories as a single genre.

In order to explore the cultivation of the duet in eighteenth century Madrid, I have combined three complementary lines of research, which, in turn, determine the structure of this text: (1) the interpretation of documentary sources related to the composition and selling of duets in the city (advertisements, inventories of bookshops and inventories of private collections); (2) the location of musical sources containing this repertoire in national and international archives (mainly Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Bibliothèque nationale de France, British Library and Library of Congress); and (3) the stylistic analysis of the located works, taking under consideration general organisation features (number of works per set, main keys, etc.), types of movements and instrumental writing.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DUET FOR VIOLINS IN MADRID

As it is well known, the interchangeability of instruments that could play within a specific range was frequent in eighteenth-century chamber music performance practice. Music printers and retailers often highlighted the possibility to play a work with different instruments: it is not unusual to find title pages or advertisements from this period making reference to sonatas or duets that could be performed with violins or flutes alike. However, one should be cautious when interpreting such indications, since they sometimes respond to commercial strategies rather than to the real possibilities of the music. Whereas the works for two flutes are perfectly performable with violins, those for violins are not so easily adapted to the flute, especially when multiple stops or a low register are used (as will be shown below in the case of Carlo Canobbio's duets). In any case, for the purpose of this study all the located musical and documentary sources related to duets for violins or flutes have been taken into account.

The earliest reference to duets for any of these instruments that I have located so far in documentary sources related to Madrid appears in José Herrando's violin treatise, published in 1757: "Las mediaciones [...] sirven para mediar sonatas, conciertos, oberturas, minuets, divertimentos a dos violines y demás cosas de música" [Repeat signs [...] are used to

mark the middle of sonatas, concertos, minuets, divertimentos for two violins and other musical compositions].¹⁰ Two years later, the following advertisement appeared in the periodical *Diario de Madrid*: “En las Gradadas de San Felipe el Real, en el puesto de libros de Antonio del Castillo, se venden cuatro divertimentos músicos, a dos violines obligatos (sin bajo)” [At Gradadas de San Felipe el Real, at Antonio del Castillo’s bookshop, four musical divertimentos for two obligato violins (without a bass) are for sale].¹¹ The specification, in brackets, that the works were not accompanied by a bass, undoubtedly makes reference to the same genre. Despite these relatively late dates, the paucity of located sources from the first half of the eighteenth century containing or making reference to violin music related to Madrid does not allow for drawing the conclusion that the violin duet was not introduced in Spain until the 1750s. In fact, a set of flute duets by the French composer Pierre Bucquet was published in Seville as early as 1734.¹² Although this edition is not directly related to Madrid, it is no doubt related to the court of King Felipe V, who stayed in that Andalusian city from 1729 to 1733: the title page indicates that the composer had accompanied the court in Seville, and it is known that his brother, Louis Bucquet, was a member of the “Guardias Reales” [Royal Guards] in those years.¹³

In any case, the date of the print just mentioned represents at least a twenty-year delay compared to the publication of violin duets in musical centres such as Paris, Amsterdam and London. In fact, works of this kind were published in Paris at least from the 1710s, as exemplified by those by Jacques Hotteterre (1712, 1717, and 1722) and Pierre Danican

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- 10 José Herrando, *Arte y puntual explicación del modo de tocar el violín con perfección y facilidad* (Paris: Joannes Cruce, 1756), p. 9. The year 1756 is usually given as the publication date of this treatise, but, although it was engraved in Paris in that year, the permission for its publication in Madrid was not issued until 1757; see Lothar Siemens, “Los violinistas compositores en la corte española durante el período central del siglo XVIII”, *Revista de musicología* 11/3 (1988), pp. 663–666.
- 11 *Diario de Madrid*, 26 November 1759; see Yolanda Acker, *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid: noticias, avisos y artículos* (Madrid: Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2007), p. 27.
- 12 Pierre Bucquet, *Pièces à deux flûtes traversières sans basse divisées en quatre suites* (Seville, engraved by Pierre Caillaux, 1734). Modern edition: Pierre Bucquet, *Pièces à deux flûtes traversières sans basse divisées en quatre suites*, ed. Antoni Pons Seguí (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Ars Hispana–Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2012).
- 13 Bucquet, *Pièces à deux flûtes traversières*, ed. Antoni Pons Seguí, pp. 1–2. On the royal family’s stay in Seville, see *Sevilla y corte: las artes y el lustro real (1729–1733)*, eds. Nicolás Morales & Fernando Quiles García (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010).

Philidor (1717), whereas in Amsterdam Estienne Roger already published duets in the period 1697–1712.¹⁴ Other early editions were issued in London, including duets by Johann Christoph Pepusch (1709) and Gottfried Finger (1702).¹⁵

As for Madrid, advertisements and inventories point at the surge in popularity of this genre in the last third of the century. At least from 1760, duets for various combinations of instruments were composed there, including works for flute and viola (e.g. Luis Misón's lost *Seis sonatas a flauta travesera y viola obligadas*, composed before 1766),¹⁶ violin and viola (e.g. Gaetano Brunetti's duets L 95–99, dated ca. 1787)¹⁷, violin and cello (e.g. Brunetti's duets L 100–102, s.d.)¹⁸ and two guitars

14 Rasch, "Luigi Boccherini's six duets", p. 27.

15 David Lasocki, "The London publisher John Walsh (1665 or 1666–1736) and the recorder", in *Sine musica nulla vita: Festschrift Hermann Moeck zum 75. Geburtstag am 16. September 1997*, ed. Nikolaus Delius (Celle: Moeck Verlag und Musikinstrumentenwerk, 1997), p. 347.

16 Luis Misón, *Seis sonatas a flauta travesera y viola obligadas, hechas para el Excmo. Sr. Duque de Alba* (ms.); see José Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba: estudios históricos y biográficos* (Madrid: Tipografía Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1927), pp. 199–204 and plates xxxiii–xxxiv. These works must have been composed before 1766, when the composer died, according to Fernando Cabañas, "Misón, Luis", in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 7, pp. 617–618. There has been some speculation about the instrumentation of these sonatas: several composers have supposed that the word "viola" was a mistake in the title, employed instead of "bajo" [bass] or "sola" [alone]; see María Díez-Canedo Flores, "La flauta travesera en las dos orillas: una sonata de flauta de Luis Misón en México", *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* 14 (2007), pp. 41–72, especially pp. 63–64, where Lothar Siemens and Antonio Martín Moreno are mentioned as supporters of the same idea. However, it should be taken into account that the XII Duke of Alba played both the violin and the viola, as attested by the lessons that José Herrando dedicated to him, described in Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba*, pp. 185–189. In addition, the specification that there were two *obligato* instruments ('obligadas') is identical to that of the above-cited advertisement in *Diario de Madrid*, 26 November 1759. Furthermore, the only page with music from this source known to date (Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba*, plate xxxiv), features a very simple melody in the bottom staff, which would be appropriate for an amateur viola player. It was copied in F4 clef, as is the case with some of the viola lessons by Herrando dedicated to the same patron. The only ornamentation indication in this staff is a trill sign, another reason to suppose that this part was conceived for a melodic instrument.

17 Dating based on the paper watermarks; see Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*, pp. 108–112 and 401. In reality, as Labrador points out, the register of the lower part of the duet L 99 does not coincide with that of the viola (as indicated in the title of the work), but with that of the violoncello.

18 Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*, pp. 108–112.

(e.g. Isidro Laporta's *Dos dúos para guitarra*, ca. 1788).¹⁹ Nevertheless, the most cultivated type of instrumental duet without accompaniment was, in the light of the sources known so far, that for violins or flutes. Significantly, three publications of this genre were issued in the Spanish capital as early as the 1760s and 1770s, when music printing was scarce in the country:²⁰ *Tres dúos nuevos* by José Herrando (published in 1760),²¹ *Seis dúos para flautas o violines* by Carlo Canobbio (ca. 1771),²² and the third edition of Luigi Boccherini's *Seis dúos a dos violines*, op. 3 (published in Madrid ca. 1771).²³ The collections by Canobbio and Boccherini were engraved by Juan Fernando Palomino, of whom only five music editions are known so far.²⁴ The apparent interest in editing duets may be explained by the low cost of printing works with a reduced instrumentation, as Miguel Ángel Marín has pointed out,²⁵ but the close dates of these collections suggests a somewhat intense demand for duets with this particular scoring. Significantly, no duet with a different scoring was published in Spain before 1800.

In fact, the local press attests to the increasing popularity of the genre in Madrid: a survey of the advertisements published in three different pe-

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- 19 Advertised in 1788 in "Biblioteca periódica anual para utilidad de los libreros y literatos [...]", in *Memorial literario, instructivo y curioso de la corte de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1788); see Jaime Moll, "Una bibliografía musical periódica de fines del siglo XVIII", *Anuario musical* 24 (1969), pp. 247–258.
 - 20 The scarce music-publishing activity in eighteenth century Madrid was not due to a lack of demand but rather to technical, economic and political reasons, according to Miguel Ángel Marín, "El mercado de la música".
 - 21 A reproduction of this source and of that of Boccherini can be viewed in Biblioteca Nacional de España, "Biblioteca Digital Hispánica", <http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/BibliotecaDigital> [accessed 23 April 2014].
 - 22 The exact date of the arrival of Canobbio to Madrid is ignored, but in 1771 he was a member of the Reales Sitios orchestra, as written on the title page of his duets. However, doubts remain about the place where these works were composed; see Geoffrey Norris, "Canobbio, Carlo", in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04740> [accessed 23 April 2014].
 - 23 This collection was composed in 1761, according to Boccherini's autograph catalogue of works; see Alfredo Boccherini y Calonje, *Luis Boccherini: apuntes biográficos y catálogo de las obras* (Madrid: A. Rodero, 1879). The Madrid edition of Boccherini's opus 3 was the third one to be issued. These works had a remarkable dissemination both in space and time, as shown in Rasch, "Luigi Boccherini's six duets".
 - 24 A summary of the publications engraved by Palomino is included in Rasch, "Luigi Boccherini's six duets", p. 75
 - 25 Marín, "Music-selling in Boccherini's Madrid", p. 170. Marín makes reference to the two editions of duets and trios by Boccherini engraved by Palomino.

riodicals – *Gazeta de Madrid* (henceforth, GM)²⁶, *Diario de Madrid* (DM),²⁷ and *Bibliografía Periódica Anual* (BPA)²⁸ – between 1750 and 1799 has brought to light 155 advertisements of duets for violins or flutes referred to works by 26 different composers, as shown in Table 3.1.²⁹ After the three isolated cases of the years 1759–1763, no other references to duets have been located before the 1770s. In that decade, 10 references to this repertoire have been found, and this figure triples in the 1780s, with 35 advertisements, and triples again in the 1790s, with 107. These figures should be interpreted with caution, since many works are cited more than once, but they clearly indicate the rise of the duet in Madrid in the 1770s and the consolidation of the demand for this music around 1780.³⁰

More important than the quantity of these advertisements is the variety of repertoires they make reference to. Apart from the three local editions (Herrando, Canobbio and Boccherini), which were advertised only once each, the press also mentions duets for violins or flutes by other local mu-

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- 26 This was the official periodical of Madrid court. A selection of eighteenth-century news and advertisements related to music, classified by thematic areas, is found in Ignacio Sustaeta, “La música en las fuentes hemerográficas del XVIII español: referencias musicales en la *Gazeta de Madrid*, y artículos de música en los papeles periódicos madrileños” (Tesis doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1993).
- 27 This periodical, created in 1758, had several titles during the period under scrutiny here: *Diario noticioso, curioso, erudito y comercial público y económico* or simply *Diario noticioso* (1758), *Diario noticioso universal* (1759–1781) and *Diario de Madrid* (1787–1825). It was not published from mid-1776 to 1778 and from late-1781 to July 1786; see Acker, *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid*, p. 12. Acker provides a selection of news and advertisements related to music in the first fifty years of existence of this publication.
- 28 This was an annual bibliographical guide published from 1784 to 1791: “Biblioteca periódica anual” in *Memorial literario, instructivo y curioso de la corte de Madrid*. Moll provides a selection of news and advertisements related to music; see Moll, “Una bibliografía musical periódica”.
- 29 I have searched the terms “dúo”, “dueto”, “divertimento”, “violines” and “flautas”. Only the advertisements that undoubtedly make reference to duets have been taken into account. Besides, there are many ambiguous references to “violin music”, “music for flute”, etc. Part of the advertisements mention different types of works for two violins or flutes, so the total number of advertisements (155) does not correspond to the addition of the figures in the last column of Table 3.1.
- 30 There is more information from the period 1784–1791 because these are the years when BPA was published, but these years coincided partially with a non-active period of DM (see note 27). The use of the terms “dúos”, “duetos” and “divertimentos” does not seem systematically associated to non-dance works; in fact, these three terms are sometimes combined with dance names in the same advertisement, for example, “Una marcha, un rondó y 6 divertimentos para 2 flautas o dos violins” [A march, a rondo and six divertimentos for two flutes] (DM, 19 November 1788).

Table 3.1. Advertisements of duets for violins or flutes in Madrid's press (1750–1799)

1750–1759	“Dúos”, “duetos” and “divertimentos” by specific composers	Ambiguous	Anonymous dances for violins or flutes	No. of items of each type
1760–1769	Herrando, José (DM, 19/06/1766; GM, 23/08/1763)	–	–	2/–/–
1770–1779	Canobbio, Carlo (GM, 10/12/1771) Boccherini, Luigi (GM, 16/06/1772) Kammel, [Antonín] (GM, 04/01/1774) Signoretti, [Pietro?] (GM, 20/09/1774) Fischer, [Johann Christian?] (GM, 07/03/1775) Schwindl, [Friedrich] (GM, 26/09/1775; GM, 23/06/1778) Patoni [Giovanni Battista] (GM, 05/12/1775) Graf, [Friedrich Hartmann?] (GM, 04/02/1777) Brunetti, Gaetano (GM, 23/06/1778)	–	country dances (GM, 09/01/1776)	9/–/1

Key: no. = number; GM = *Gazeta de Madrid*; DM = *Diario de Madrid*; BPA = *Bibliografía Periódica Anual*. Reference numbers provided for BPA advertisements are those found in Jaime Moll, “Una bibliografía musical periódica de fines del siglo XVIII”, *Anuario musical*, 24 (1969), pp. 247–258. The column entitled “Ambiguous” includes advertisements with vague explanations where the terms “dúos”, “duetos” or “divertimentos” are used

and no specific allusions to dances are made, for example, “Dos duetos para dos violines” [Two duets for two violins] (BPA, 125, 1789). As for the works by specific composers, some of them are dances, as indicated. Quotation marks indicate the names of composers whom I have not been able to identify so far, spelt as in the Madrid advertisements.

1780-1789	<p>“Phastom” (GM, 25/07/1783); “Wutky” (BPA, 109, 1788; GM, 28/03/1788)</p>	<p>(DM, 02/09/1786) (GM, 30/03/1787) (DM, 05/10/1787) (DM, 06/09/1787) (BPA, 125, 1789) (GM, 15/12/1789) (DM, 28/12/1789) (DM, 19/11/1788) (BPA, 125, 1789) (GM, 15/12/1789) (DM, 28/12/1789)</p>	<p>minuets, pastoral (GM, 08/12/1780) minuets (GM, 23/02/1781; BPA, 130, 1789) minuets, passe-pieds (GM, 26/11/1784; BPA, 13, 1785; GM, 29/03/1785; GM, 19/12/1786; BPA, 78, 1788; BPA, 105, 1788; GM, 29/01/1788; BPA, 139, 1789; GM, 19/12/1788; GM, 17/04/1789) country dances, minuets (GM, 06/12/1784; GM, 25/12/1789) tiranas, seguidillas (GM, 07/08/1787)</p>	3/11/28
1790-1799	<p>“Vuthy” = “Wutky” (BPA, 151, 1790; GM, 26/04/1793; GM, 07/11/1797; GM, 07/12/1798; GM, 12/07/1799; GM, 27/08/1799; GM, 12/11/1799)</p>	<p>(BPA, 148, 1790) (GM, 16/11/1790)</p>	<p>march, minuet and trio (GM, 04/04/1788) passe-pieds, minuets, fandango, country dances (BPA, 119, 1789; GM, 23/01/1789) country dances, minuets, march, rondo (BPA, 123, 1789; GM, 25/12/1789) minuets, march, rondo (BPA, 130, 1789; GM, 28/08/1789) march (GM, 14/07/1789)</p>	104/27/18

Giuliani, [Giovanni Francesco?] (GM, 03/08/1792; GM, 09/10/1792; GM, 20/11/1792; GM, 11/10/1793)	(BPA, 163, 1791) (BPA, 166, 1791)	country dances, minuets, march, rondo (DM, 19/01/1790)
Fischer, [Johann Christian?] (GM, 11/10/1793)	(GM, 15/11/1791)	minuets, country dances, pastorals (BPA, 162, 1791)
Chartrain, [Nicolas-Joseph] (GM, 11/10/1793; GM, 31/12/1799), includes also pastorals	(GM, 09/12/1791) (GM, 27/01/1792)	minuets, country dances (BPA, 169, 1791)
Calvo, Domingo (BPA, 153, 1790; BPA, 154, 1790; GM, 04/06/1790; GM, 24/12/1793; GM, 16/12/1794), all minuets and country dances	(DM, 25/11/1791) (DM, 23/12/1791) (GM, 08/02/1793)	minuets, country dances, marches (GM, 08/07/1791)
Pleyel, [Ignace] (GM, 11/12/1792; GM, 04/10/1793; GM, 31/12/1793; GM, 13/06/1793; GM, 22/04/1794; GM, 30/09/1794; GM, 28/11/1794; GM, 10/02/1795; GM, 26/06/1795; GM, 21/07/1795; GM, 25/08/1795; GM, 09/10/1795; GM, 17/11/1795; GM, 29/03/1796; GM, 13/05/1796; GM, 31/05/1796; GM, 27/09/1796; GM, 04/11/1796; GM, 09/12/1796; GM, 07/02/1796; GM, 24/01/1797; GM, 23/05/1797; GM, 26/05/1797; GM, 06/06/1797; GM, 30/06/1797; GM, 03/10/1797; GM, 13/10/1797; GM, 15/12/1797; GM, 20/02/1798; GM, 05/06/1798; GM, 19/06/1798; GM, 26/06/1798; GM, 20/07/1798; GM, 18/09/1798; GM, 02/10/1798; GM, 04/12/1798; GM, 24/07/1799; GM, 05/04/1799; GM, 09/04/1799; GM, 17/05/1799; GM, 21/05/1799; GM, 12/07/1799; GM, 16/07/1799; GM, 27/08/1799; GM, 01/10/1799; GM, 18/10/1799; GM, 08/11/1799; GM, 12/11/1799; GM, 29/11/1799; GM, 31/12/1799), includes theme and variations, marches, rondos, country dances, minuets, "taych alemán y rondo" [German "taych" and rondo]	(DM, 20/02/1792) (GM, 20/04/1792) (GM, 27/07/1792) (DM, 22/09/1792) (GM, 09/10/1792) (GM, 06/11/1792) (DM, 16/01/1793) (GM, 04/01/1793) (GM, 25/01/1793) (GM, 08/02/1793) (DM, 11/02/1793) (GM, 23/04/1793) (DM, 06/05/1793) (GM, 10/05/1793) (GM, 25/02/1794) (GM, 28/10/1794) (GM, 18/11/1796)	pastorals, marches, minuets, country dances (GM, 20/04/1792) country dances, minuets, fandango (GM, 09/10/1792) pastorals, country dances, minuets (GM, 07/12/1792) minuets, country dances, passe-pied (GM, 25/05/1792) march, rondo (GM, 19/11/1793) polacca, seguidillas, minuet (GM, 30/09/1794) easy minuets (GM, 16/01/1795) country dances (GM, 29/01/1799; GM, 12/11/1799; GM, 05/04/1799; GM, 21/05/1799; GM, 27/08/1799)

<p>Asiain, Joaquín (GM, 26/02/1793; GM, 14/01/1794; GM, 22/01/1799)</p> <p>Haydn, Joseph (GM, 11/10/1793; GM, 31/12/1793; GM, 13/05/1794; DM, 22/07/1794; GM, 15/12/1795; GM, 09/01/1795)</p> <p>Graf, [Friedrich Hartmann?] (GM, 25/08/1795; GM, 09/10/1795; GM, 27/05/1796; GM, 16/08/1796; GM, 30/06/1797; GM, 20/02/1798; GM, 05/04/1799; GM, 21/05/1799; GM, 12/07/1799; GM, 27/08/1799; GM, 08/11/1799; GM, 12/11/1799), includes country dances</p> <p>Viotti, [Giovanni Battista] (GM, 31/05/1796)</p> <p>Fodor, [Josephus Andreas] (GM, 08/09/1797; GM, 20/02/1798; GM, 21/05/1799; GM, 03/09/1799)</p> <p>“Grill” (GM, 13/10/1797)</p> <p>Cambini, [Giuseppe Maria] (GM, 14/09/1798; GM, 28/12/1798; GM, 20/09/1799)</p> <p>“Kramtschi” (GM, 03/09/1799)</p> <p>Rolla, [Alessandro] (GM, 20/08/1799)</p> <p>Guglielmi, [Pietro Carlo?] (GM, 29/11/1799)</p> <p>Naumann, [Johann Gotlieb?] (GM, 01/01/1799; GM, 31/12/1799), all country dances</p> <p>Fils, [Johann Anton?] (GM, 31/12/1799)</p>		
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sicians such as Joaquín Asiaín and Domingo Calvo Rodríguez, probably sold in manuscript copies.³¹ From 1774, composers active outside Spain are also mentioned, for example Antonín Kammel, “Schwiedel” (very probably Friedrich Schwindl) and “Graff” (presumably Friedrich Hartmann Graf), all three advertised in *Gazeta de Madrid* before 1780.³² However, from that year onwards a significant part of the located advertisements (66% in the 1780s and almost 17% in the 1790s) do not make reference to works by specific composers, but to anonymous dances with this particular instrumentation. Within these pieces, minuets (“minués” or “minuetes”) and country dances (“contradanzas”) predominate, although other types of dances are mentioned, including rondos, allemandes, marches, fandangos, polaccas, tiranas, seguidillas and passe-pieds (“pasiés”).³³ The abundance of these advertisements, especially in the 1780s, suggests that this repertoire was commercially successful in the Spanish capital. The same can be said about Pleyel’s music, in the light of the 50 advertisements of duets by him published in the 1790s (it seems no coincidence that some of the dances are also attributed to him). In reality, the last decade of the century attested a massive importation of duets, to judge from the fifteen foreign names found in the advertisements: “Wutky” (also “Vuthy” or “Butky”), [Giovanni Francesco?] Giuliani, [Johann Christian?] Fischer,

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- 31 “Tres duetos para violín del P. Fr. Joaquín Asiaín” [Three duets for violin by Father Friar Joaquín Asiaín] (GM, 26 February 1793; similar texts are found in GM, 14 January 1794; GM, 22 January 1799); “Un cuaderno de minués nuevos, compuestos por el Señor Calvo Rodríguez a 1º y 2º violín; otro de contradanzas por el mismo” [A book of new minuets, composed by Mr. Calvo Rodríguez for first and second violin; another one of country dances by the same] (GM, 4 June 1790; similar texts are found in BPA, 153, 1790; BPA, 154, 1790; GM, 24 December 1793; GM, 16 December 1794).
- 32 These advertisements mention six violin duets by Antonín Kammel (GM, 4 January 1774), six duets by “Schwiedel”, op. 7 (GM, 26 September 1775) and six flute duets by “Graff” (GM, 4 February 1777). “Schwindl” is included in Antonio del Castillo’s 1788 inventory (mentioned below in this text) in the duets section, but, according to Anneliese Downs, his op. 7 is a set of quartets. See José Subirá, “Un insospechado inventario musical del siglo XVIII”, *Anuario musical* 24 (1969), pp. 227–236; and Anneliese Downs, “Schwindl, Friedrich”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25222> [accessed 23 April 2014]. Many works for one or two flutes by Friedrich Hartmann Graf were disseminated in the 1770s, as attested by Breitkopf’s catalogues. Christian Ernst Graf, published several sets of duets for strings, but not for flutes; see Adolf Layer, “Graf”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42860pg2> [accessed 23 April 2014].
- 33 Pastorelas (pastorals) have also been counted as part of this group of pieces, although they are not necessarily dances.

[Nicolas-Joseph] Chartrain, [Ignace] Pleyel, [Friedrich Hartmann?] Graf, [Giovanni Battista] Viotti, [Josephus Andreas] Fodor, "Grill", [Giuseppe Maria] Cambini, "Kramcisch", [Alessandro] Rolla, [Pietro Carlo?] Guglielmi, [Johann Gotlieb?] Naumann and [Johann Anton?] Fils.³⁴

The rapid integration of the violin duet into Madrid's music market is not surprising taking into account that the violin was one of the four instruments with higher sales rates in the city,³⁵ where about a third of the editions of instrumental music issued between 1750 and 1800 were devoted to this instrument.³⁶ In addition, the violin sonata was firmly consolidated in the capital ca. 1750 (about 100 violin sonatas were composed there between 1750 and 1775),³⁷ so the local market was propitious for the introduction of new violin genres when the duet entered the scene. The expansion Madrid was going through in those years in terms of production and consumption of music fostered the importation of international repertoires, which was given a boost from ca. 1770.³⁸ First, imported

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- 34 Identifications of foreign composers are based mainly on *Grove music online*, taking into account those composers who wrote or published violin duets in the second half of the century. Yet it would be necessary to research into the possible editions and distributors related to the copies sold in Madrid in order to confirm the identities of these composers. For instance, it is not clear whether the "polaca muy graciosa a dúo, con su minué al mismo intento para dos flautas, de Guglielmi" [a very gracious polacca and a minuet for two flutes by Guglielmi] advertised in *Gaceta de Madrid* on the 29 November 1799 could be at work by Pietro Carlo Guglielmi or else by his younger brother Pietro Alessandro, but the former was in Madrid in 1794. See Mary Hunter & James L. Jackman, "Guglielmi", in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O901986pg1> [accessed 23 April 2014].
- 35 Cristina Bordas, "La producción y el comercio de instrumentos musicales en Madrid, 1770–1870" (Tesis doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2005); cited in Marín, "El mercado de la música".
- 36 This is a provisional figure based on the data provided by Siemens, "Los violinistas compositores", pp. 661–669; Gosálvez, *La edición musical española hasta 1936*, pp. 32–44; and Marín, "El mercado de la música". Only instrumental treatises and compositions have been taken into account, while printed dance treatises (which often feature musical examples whose register and instrumental writing suggest the use of the violin) have been ignored. Publications of works by Madrid-based composers in foreign countries have not been counted either.
- 37 Ana Lombardía, "Las sonatas para violín y bajo en Madrid a mediados del siglo XVIII: aspectos formales y organizativos en la obra de Francisco Manalt y José Herrando" (DEA dissertation, Universidad de La Rioja, 2009).
- 38 On the expansion of Madrid's music market in the second half of the eighteenth century, see Marín, "El mercado de la música". Marín highlights the following transformations: the music-printing activity increased, specialised bookshops were created, connections with international music dealers were established and middle-class music

works came almost exclusively from Paris, but, from ca. 1780, printed and manuscript copies sent from London and Vienna also reached Madrilenian bookshops and private collections.³⁹

In this sense, a particularly revealing source is the 1777 inventory and valuation of the library previously owned by Fernando de Silva Álvarez de Toledo, XII Duke of Alba. The inventory lists more than 1000 chamber works, including at least 140 “dúos”.⁴⁰ Although their instrumentation is generally unspecified, it is very likely that 116 of them were works for bowed instruments, since they are attributed to composers specialized in this repertoire, who were in most cases virtuoso violinists.⁴¹ These include, on the one hand, musicians who published duets in Paris, such as Emanuele Barbella (with 16 “dúos”) and Guillaume Navoigille (with 18).⁴² On the other hand, and more importantly, the list includes Luigi Boccherini and five other musicians active in Madrid: Gaetano Brunetti (with 44 “dúos”), Manuel Canales (with 12), Manuel Mencía (with 6), Jaime Rosquellas (with 6) and Juan Oliver (with at least 6).⁴³ The existence of these works – which were probably composed for the duke, who was himself an amateur violinist and violist – shows the assimilation of the genre in Spain at least around 1770, not only from the point of view of the reception of works created abroad but also from that of local composition.⁴⁴

amateurs (to whom the advertisements were aimed at) entered the scene. It is interesting to note that importation was not restricted to printed music, but included manuscript copies as well.

- 39 Marín, “Music-selling in Boccherini’s Madrid”, pp. 168–169.
- 40 George Truett Hollis, “Inventario y tasación de los instrumentos y papeles de música, de la testamentaria del Exmo. Sr. D. Fernando de Silba Álvarez de Toledo, duque que fue de Alba’ (1777)”, *Anuario musical* 59 (2004), pp. 151–172: on the duets, see pp. 158–159 and 168–172. Hollis counts 125 works in the duets section of the valuation (ff. 11r–11v), but other mentions of works of this genre are scattered in ff. 2r, 2v, 3v and 10r.
- 41 All of the composers mentioned here were violinists, excepting Boccherini and Canales (cellists) as well as Manuel Mencía (organist), although the Alba inventory includes string duets and trios composed by the latter; see Hollis, “Inventario y tasación”, pp. 156, 156–157n, 158 and 170.
- 42 Both of them published collections of duets in Paris. However, the Alba inventory does not specify whether these copies were printed or manuscript. See Chappell White, “Barbella, Emanuele”, in *Grove music online*.
- 43 The valuation makes reference to eighteen duets by Oliver (*Dieciocho de Oliver*, f. 11r), but this could be three copies of the same collection, since the inventory mentions “a set of duets twice duplicated” [un juego de dúos dos veces duplicados], which could be understood as three copies of the same six works.
- 44 Regarding the other eighteen works included in the “dúos” section, doubts remain about their nature. As George Truett Hollis observes, the “dúos” by Francesco Zappa

Further evidence of the arrival of duets from abroad to private collections is provided by two volumes containing eleven sets printed in London around 1780, probably bound together by the music dealer J. Bland, whose stamp appears on the contents page. These volumes were presumably sent to Madrid shortly afterwards, maybe to a member of the Spanish royal family.⁴⁵ However, not only members of the social elite but also middle-class Madrid music amateurs could purchase a wide variety of duets for violins or flutes. In fact, the 1788 inventory of Antonio del Castillo's bookshop reveals that about twenty collections of this genre were in stock then.⁴⁶ The vast majority of the composers were active abroad, the ones with a higher number of works being Blavet (presumably Michel) and Patoni (presumably Giovanni Battista), with three different sets each.⁴⁷ However, sets of duets by composers active in the city were also available in that bookshop, namely Boccherini's opus 3 and José Castel's opus 1.⁴⁸

could be the sonatas for obligato keyboard and violin advertised in the press (GM, February 8, 1774); see Hollis, "Inventario y tasación", p. 158. In the case of the Spanish composers José de la Nave and Antonio Rodríguez de Hita, whose output is more connected to vocal genres than to instrumental ones, it is possible that the inventory makes reference to vocal pieces (as is the case with some of the "duos" and "duetos" advertised in the press). In any case, they are probably not sonatas for violin and accompaniment, which are included in a different section of the document.

- 45 They are now preserved at *E-Mn M/1686* and *M/1687*. An ex-libris with the initials "JM" is stuck on the inside of the cover. Details about the editions they contain appear in Rasch, "Luigi Boccherini's six duets", p. 85.
- 46 Subirá, "Un insospechado inventario musical", pp. 232. The "duos" section of this document includes 33 items, but not all of them are duets (for example, Bianchi's *Sonatas para pianoforte* or Elouis' *Recolta de avias para arpa*); in other cases it is not clear whether the mentioned works were actually unaccompanied duets, sonatas for violin or flute with bass or trios for two equal instruments with bass.
- 47 Both Michel Blavet and Giovanni Battista Patoni published sets of duets in Paris. The same three collections of flute duets by Patoni mentioned in Castillo's inventory, opp. 1, 2 and 3, were previously advertised in GM, 5 December 1775.
- 48 Castillo's inventory also lists the opus 3 by "Canal", presumably Manuel Canales' set of string quartets published in London with that opus number: *Six quartettos for two violins, a tenor & bass, by Emanuel Canales, composed for the King of Spain* (London: Napier, [1782]). This collection was advertised in Madrid in those years (GM, 30 June 1786; BPA, 55, 1786). The fact that it is placed in the "duets" section of Castillo's inventory instead of the "quartets" one may be due to a mistake. They were composed in 1778; see Miguel Ángel Marín, "El surgimiento del cuarteto y la consolidación de la sonata", in *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 4: *La música en el siglo XVIII*, ed. José Máximo Leza (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), pp. 373–399.

In sum, the examined evidence attests to the introduction of the duet for violins or flutes in Madrid in the late 1750s and its rapid integration into the local market, where an intense demand for this music – on the part of members of the social elite as well as middle-class music amateurs – took place from 1770 and increased dramatically from 1780 onwards. Not only a wide selection of duets imported from Paris and London – including works by Barbella, Navoigille, Kammell and Cambini, among others – reached Madrid bookshops and private libraries, but also works by numerous composers based there, such as Herrando, Canobbio, Boccherini, Brunetti, Canales, Mencía, Oliver, Rosquellas, Castel, Asiaín and Calvo. These local compositions – some of which were printed – show the consolidation of the genre in Madrid around 1770.

THE MUSICAL SOURCES

A preliminary search for musical sources containing violin duets related to eighteenth-century Madrid in the catalogues of four major libraries (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, British Library and Library of Congress)⁴⁹ has brought to light 108 works by at least 11 different composers (see Table 3.2). The vast majority of this corpus (almost 90%) is dated after 1770, thus confirming that that year was a turning point in the consolidation of the genre in Madrid. Some of the duets on this table have not been located so far, but either their incipits are known or their existence can be deduced from the numbering of preserved works from the same collection.⁵⁰

49 I am grateful for the helpful information provided during this search by Miguel Ángel Marín, Màrius Bernadó, Lluís Bertran, José Carlos Gosálvez and the staff at the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, especially María Teresa Delgado and José Soto. Most sources have been located by browsing the electronic catalogues of the four mentioned libraries and that of RISM.

50 In this sense, the case of Brunetti is paradigmatic. Germán Labrador has identified seventeen different violin duets by Brunetti (catalogue numbers L 78–94), although only nine of them have been preserved: his opus 3, containing six works (L 83–88), and three of the duets composed for the XIII Duke of Alba (L 89–91). The remaining eight duets have not been located so far, but their incipits appear in different catalogues. On the other hand, the three duets for the Duke of Alba may have been part of a set of six, since they are numbered as duets 2, 3 and 4, and the convention of the time (also in Spain) was to group together either three, six or twelve works. The existence of another four duets that would complete Brunetti's opus 2 together with the duets L 93 and L 94 can also be hypothesised. The figure of 24 works seems realistic in the light of the 44 "duos" by Brunetti mentioned in the 1777 Alba inventory; see Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*, pp. 99–112, 401, 431–438; Hollis, "Inventario y tasación", pp. 158–159, 168–172.

Table 3-2. Duets for violins or flutes related to Madrid (1760–ca. 1800)¹

Item	Date	Author, catalogue no. pr./ms.	Title, date of the source and publication date	No. of works.	Location / Comments
1	1760	Herrando, José	<i>Tres dúos nuevos a dos violines</i> (Madrid: s.n., 1760)	3	<i>E-Mn M/1455(2)</i> Engraved in Paris ²
2	# 1766a	Pla, Manuel DII, 7–12	<i>Diverimenti a due violini del Signor Don Manuelle Pla</i> (ms., ca. 1762–87) ³ <i>Six duets for two violins</i> (London: Thompson, [1773]) <i>VI [Sei] notturni a due violini e basso del signore Pla. Violino II</i> (ms., s.d.)	6	<i>E-Mn M/1239–1240</i> <i>GB-Lbl g.421.c. (6.)</i> <i>CH-E 1057,55 (Ms. 4957)</i> Version for 2 violins + bass, only Violin II

1 Key: no.= number, pr. = printed; ms. = manuscript; aut. = autograph; eng.= engraved by; s.n.= *sine nomine* (without name), s.d.= *sine data* (without date); 1766a = 1766 or before (*terminus ante quem*), 1766ca = circa 1776; 1766p = 1766 or afterwards (*terminus post quem*). In the second column, a hash (#) highlights collections published outside Spain, and an asterisk (*) highlights collections of dances. Titles have been normalised by writing abbreviations out and capitalizing as needed. Catalogue numbers are only provided when a catalogue of the corresponding composer has been published. Most of the Pla sources are mentioned, described and given an approximate date in Josep Dolcet, “L’obra dels germans Pla: bases per a una catalogació”, *Anuario musical* 42 (1987), pp. 131–188: 140–145 and 150–55; in these cases, catalogue siglas starting with “DII” are used. For Brunetti’s duets, Labrador’s reference numbers are employed; cf. Germán Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti*

(1744–1798): *catálogo crítico, temático y cronológico*, Colección de monografías, 8 (Madrid: Asociación Española de Documentación Musical, 2005), pp. 99–112, 401 and 431–38. Lost works have been included only if their instrumentation has been confirmed. That is why some works included in the 1777 Alba inventory are absent from this table, for example those by Jaime Rosquellas, who was a professional violin player and probably composed duets for this instrument.

² “Grabados en París” (DM, 19/06/1760)

³ “Pla V. I. Soi de la S^a M. D. Sn. Adrián” is written on the cover. This is probably an abbreviation for “Pla Violin I. Soy de la Señora Marquesa de San Adrián.” [Pla Violin I. I belong to Lady Marquise of San Adrián]. This would be María Josefa de Armendáriz y de Acedo, who had that title from 1762 until her death in 1787; see Dolcet, “L’obra dels germans Pla”, pp. 144 and 183.

				<i>II [Due] duetti in C e G a due flauti traversiere da Giuseppe Plaz (Espagnolo)</i> (ms., s.d.) <i>Sonata a due flauti obbligati</i> (ms., s.d.) <i>Sonata a due flauti del signore Plas</i> (ms., s.d.) <i>Duetto a due violini, del signore on Manuel Plas</i>	<i>S-Skma 2Fb-R</i> DII, 10; DII, 13 <i>CH-Sa Rz 221/59</i> (Ms. 11029), only DII-7 <i>CH-Sa Rz 221/58</i> (Ms. 11028), only DII-8 <i>US-LAnn Ms. 28</i> , only Violin I
3	1767; s.d.	Brunetti, Gaetano L 78; L 92	ms.	<i>Dúo nº 1 para D. Francisco Antonio Parisien</i> (1767); <i>Dúo nº 2</i> (s.d.) ⁴	2 [of ?] Not located
4	* 1770ca	[s.n.]	ms.	[Book of dances for one or two violins]	13 <i>E-Mn MC/4824/2</i> Contains 13 “minués” for 2 violins
5	# 1770ca	Pla, ? DII, 1-6	pr.	<i>Six sonatas for two german flutes or violins composed in a pleasing agreeable style by Sig.^r Pla. Book I</i> (London: Bride, s.a. [ca. 1770?]) <i>Six sonatas for two german flutes or violins composed in a pleasing agreeable style by signore Pla. Book I</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, s.a. [ca. 1776])	<i>GB-Lb/Hirsch M. 1469</i> <i>GB-Ckc⁵</i> Reprint of Bride’s edition

4 The structure of the titles suggests that these two duets could have been longed together to the same set. Only the first movements are known.

5 The exemplars of these editions by Hummel and Longman & Broderip are mentioned in Dolcet, “L’obra dels germans Pla”, where no precise class-marks are given.

					<i>Six duettes a deux flutes traversieres composées par Signor Pla. Œuvre premiere</i> (Amsterdam: Hummel, s.a. [ca. 1772])		S-Skma; only Flute I Modern edition available ⁶
6	# [1771]	Canobbio, Carlo	pr.		<i>Seis diuos para flautas o violines</i> (Madrid, eng. Palomino)	6	<i>E-Mn</i> MC/3887/1-2 <i>I-Af; I-BGc; I-Nc; I-Vc^s</i>
7	[1771?] ⁹	Boccherini, Luigi G56-61	pr.		<i>Sei duetti per flauto e violino oppure per due violini</i> (Venezia: Marescalchi & Canobbio, 1773-1775) ⁷	6	<i>E-Mn</i> Mp/2392 (1); only Violin II First edited as op. 3 (Paris, La Chevardière, 1768)
8	1772a	Brunetti, Gaetano L 79-82	?		<i>[Quattro] duetti intagliati di Gaetano Brunetti. Parigi</i> (Leipzig: Breitkopf) ¹⁰	4	Not located
9	s.d.	Pla, ? DII, 13	ms.		<i>II [Due] duetti in C e G a due flauti traversiere, da Giuseppe Plaz</i> (<i>Espagnolo</i>) (ms., s.d.) (DII, 10; DII, 13)	1	S-Skma 2Fb-R

6 Juan Bautista Pla, *Six sonatas. 2 oboes/flutes/violins*, ed. Walter Lebermann (Mainz: Schott, 1969).

7 This edition is mentioned in Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini’s six duets”, pp. 78-79 and Oscar Mischiati. *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Firenze: Leo S. Olshchki, 1984), Catalogue LIII, pp. 391-396. RISM C878 gives Alessandri & Scattaglia as the publishers, but these were the name of the retailers according to the title page.

8 The four copies on the table are included in Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche,

Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (<http://opac.sbn.it>), where no precise class-marks are given.

9 This set was composed in 1761, according to Boccherini’s autograph catalogue, but the first evidence of its reception in Madrid is the 1772 Palomino edition.

10 See “Supplement VII (1772)”, in Barry Brook, *The Breitkopf thematic catalogue: the six parts and sixteen supplements, 1762-1787* (New York: Dover, 1966), pp. 441-80, especially p. 453. It is not clear whether Breitkopf sold these works in manuscript or printed copies.

10	1773	Montoro, Antonio	ms.	<i>Divertimento à due violini del Signor Don Antonio Montoro, Para el Ilustrissimo Señor Duque de Ferdinandina. Año 1773</i>	2	US-Wc M287 .A2 M81
11	# 1775ca	Castel, José	pr.	<i>Six duets pour deux violons</i> (París: La Chevardière)	6	F-Pn Vm7 893
12	* 1775	[s. n.]	pr.	<i>Doce contradanzas nuevas abiertas bechas para el Príncipe Nuestro Señor...</i> (Madrid, Joaquín Ibarra)	12	E-Mn MC/3602/34 Contains 12 country-dances (2 violins) and 6 minuets (2 violins + bass)
13	s.d.	Brunetti, Gaetano L 93-94	ms.	<i>Duetto III, op. 2; Duetto IV, op. 2</i>	2 [of 6?]	Not located
14	# 1776ca ¹¹	Brunetti, Gaetano L 83-88	pr. + ms.	<i>Six duo [sic] pour deux violons... Œuvre III</i> (Paris, La Chevardière) <i>Seis dúos</i>	6	F-Pn Vm7 925 E-Mn M/2241-2242 [C]
15	1773-1786ca ¹²	Canales, Manuel	ms.	<i>Violin primero a los seis duetos de don Manuel Canales para el uso del excelentísimo señor Marqués de Villafranca</i>	6	US-Wc M287 .A2 C212 (Case)
16	1782-1783ca ¹³	Brunetti, Gaetano L 89-91	aut.	<i>Divertimento secondo a due violini fatto per uso del Eccellentissimo Signor Duca d'Alba...</i> ; <i>Divertimento terzo...</i> ; <i>Divertimento quarto...</i>	3 [of 6]	US-Wc ML 96 [L 89] D-B Mus ms.autogr.G.Brunetti 7 [L 90] F-Pn Ms. 1645 [L 91]

11 Donation provided by Bibliothèque Nationale de France taking into account contemporary advertisements.

in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 2, pp. 1006-1007.

12 José Álvarez de Toledo inherited the Villafranca title in 1773, whereas Canales died in 1786, according to Javier Garbayo, "Canales, Manuel", Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*, p. 401.

13 Dating by Germán Labrador based on the paper watermarks; see Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*, p. 401.

17	1797a ¹⁴	Oliver, Juan	ms.	<i>Duetto 1 (Duo 2, Duetto 3, Duo 3, Duetto 4, Duetto 6) de Oliver Astorga</i>	6	US-Wc M287 .A2 A85 (Case)
18	1800a	Cañada, José	ms.	<i>Duetto [primero] de violines para el doctor don Francisco Foncada; Duetto quinto; Dúo</i>	3 [of 6]	E-Mn Mp/3 172/10-12
19	1800a	Oliver, Juan ¹⁵	ms.	<i>Dos duetos a dos violines</i>	2	E-Mn M/2241-2242
20	1800-1819ca	Coco, Manuel	ms.	<i>Tres dúos</i>	3	E-Mn M/2241-2242
TOTAL					98 [of 108]	

14 José Álvarez de Toledo died in 1797, and this source seems to have been made part of his private library. 15 The incipits of these duets do not coincide with those by Oliver preserved in US-Wc.

About two thirds of these works (on the table, all except those indicated with the symbol *) are “dúos”, “duetos” and “divertimentos” attributed to composers active in Madrid and neighbouring cities such as Toledo,⁵¹ including most of the composers mentioned in the documentary sources commented above. Yet in some cases doubts remain about the identity of “Pla”, who could have been Manuel, active in Madrid, or one of his brothers who toured throughout Europe, Juan Bautista and José.⁵² In the light of this table, Brunetti seems to have been the most prolific composer of violin duets in eighteenth century Madrid; he wrote between seventeen and twenty-four, according to the catalogue by Germán Labrador.⁵³ Brunetti is followed by the Pla brothers, with thirteen works, and by Juan Oliver, with eight. In contrast, we only know one set of either three or six works by each of the other composers on this list. Interestingly, it includes virtually unknown composers such as Antonio Montoro, Manuel Coco (also Cocco) and José Cañada, whose duets have been recently discovered.⁵⁴ Whereas Montoro and Coco do not appear in Madrid’s contemporary periodicals, nine different advertisements allow for associating José Cañada with the city in the period 1785–1793.⁵⁵ They inform about his varied output, which includes religious works, chamber music and a theoretical treatise. However, these advertisements do not

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- 51 For example, Manuel Canales worked in both places; see Javier Garbayo, “Canales, Manuel”, in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 2, pp. 1006–1007.
- 52 Andrés Ruiz Tarazona, “Pla Ferrusola”, in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 8, pp. 842–843; Matthew Haakenson, “Two Spanish brothers revisited: recent research surrounding the life and instrumental music of Juan Bautista Pla and José Pla”, *Early music* 35/1 (2007), pp. 83–96 (this article includes an updated biography of Juan Bautista and José Pla); and Josep Dolcet, “L’obra dels germans Pla. Bases per a una catalogació”, *Anuario musical* 42 (1987), pp. 131–188 (a catalogue of the works by all three brothers with comments on problematic attributions). The question of which one of the three brothers composed specific works signed simply by “Pla” has raised some debate in musicological forums. However, it is possible that some of these works were the result of a collaborative work between two or three members of the family. Furthermore, all three brothers could have benefited from the fame of their surname, used in this way as a sort of shared label.
- 53 Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*, pp. 99–112.
- 54 Antonio Montoro has not been identified yet. Regarding Manuel Coco (also “Cocco”), almost nothing is known about him before 1819, when his presence in Cuba has been documented; see Helio Orovio, “Cocco, Manuel Antonio”, in *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, vol. 3, p. 781.
- 55 Of these nine advertisements, seven have been located in GM – according to Ignacio Sustaeta, *La música en las fuentes hemerográficas*, pp. 163, 199 and 200 –, one in DM, 8 April 1791, and one in BPA, 53, 1786.

mention his duets dedicated to don Francisco Foncada, who may have been a local music amateur. Only three of these duets have been preserved, but the fact that one of them is entitled “Duetto quinto” [Fifth duet] presumably indicates that they belonged to a collection of six.⁵⁶

Regarding terminology, it seems clear that “dúo”, “dueto” and “divertimento” were used as synonyms in Madrid, since they are not systematically associated with works with specific features. The six duets by Oliver preserved in Washington constitute a significant example: the titles “dúo” and “dueto” are continuously alternated in these manuscripts, even within the same part-book. For instance, the title page of the first duet reads “Duetto 1º de Oliver Astorga” [First duet by Oliver Astorga], but in the beginning it says “Dúo”.⁵⁷ “Divertimento” is employed even more flexibly: in the case of Brunetti, he uses this title both for duets in two movements (L 89, L 90 and L 91) and in three movements (L 95 to L 99, for violin and viola or cello), as well as for string trios (for example, L 127 to L 149, i.e. series 1 to 4).⁵⁸ Furthermore, various works advertised in the press also bear this title,⁵⁹ suggesting that “divertimento” could be used in Madrid for any kind of chamber work, as was the case in other parts of Europe, such as Austria.⁶⁰

One of the most striking results of this search is the fact that five of the located editions were published in foreign countries, all of them in the 1770s (on the table, they are indicated with the symbol #). Their existence makes clear that composers based in Madrid took part to a certain extent in the international trade of violin duets, thus reflecting the inte-

56 Cañada's three manuscript sources have been recently purchased by the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

57 On the contrary, the terms “duo” and “duetto”, when applied to instrumental music, did not mean the same for Giovanni Battista Martini, according to his *Esemplare, o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto sopra il canto fermo...* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1774–1775), p. 3. I am grateful to Elisabetta Pasquini for making this observation.

58 Titles can be consulted in Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*.

59 The term appears abundantly in the press, for example, “Seis divertimentos para dos flautas y baxos [i.e., bajo], parte segunda, compuestos por don José Cañada. Librería de Hurtado” (BPA, 53, 1786; making reference to trios for two violins and a bass); “Ocho divertimentos para clave regular, seis para dos flautas, y [...]. Se hallarán con sus precios en la librería de Luna, calle de la Montera, junto a la de los Jardines” (DM, 2 September 1786; making reference to harpsichord pieces as well as flute duets).

60 Marín states that, in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, “divertimento” was used by Haydn and other composers of the same area to name different instrumental genres for one or more soloists; see Miguel Ángel Marín, *Joseph Haydn y el cuarteto de cuerda* (Madrid: Alianza, 2009), p. 38.

gration of the Spanish capital in modern systems of music selling and dissemination. More specifically, Castel's opus 1 and Brunetti's opus 3 (items 11 and 14 on the table) were published in Paris by La Chevardière within a short time (ca. 1775 and 1776 respectively), two collections by members of the Pla family were issued by several publishers in London and Amsterdam (items 2 and 5) and Canobbios's duets were published for the second time in Venice (item 6).

Canobbio had met businessman Luigi Marescalchi in Madrid and, right after leaving Spain, he joined Marescalchi's music-publishing firm in Venice in the years 1773–1775.⁶¹ As regards the Pla brothers, given that two of them, Juan Bautista and José, developed international careers as wind virtuosos, the existence of foreign publications of duets by "Pla" should not be as surprising as that of the duets by Castel and Brunetti. Nevertheless, the "Pla" collection edited in 1773 by Thompson (item 2) can be related to Madrid for various reasons. Firstly, a Spanish contemporary manuscript (*E-Mn* M/1239–1240) attributes it to Manuel Pla and indicates that this particular source belonged to "Lady M. of San Adrián", identified by Josep Dolcet as María Josefa de Armendáriz y de Acedo (1743–1787), who was Marquise of San Adrián from 1762 onwards.⁶² Secondly, the order of the keys in this source points at its preeminence over the edition from a philological standpoint: the keys are ordered in a more didactic and logical way in the manuscript (G–D–A–F–Bb–Eb, that is, 1#–2#–3#–1b–2b–3b), whereas the order in the 1773 London edition (1#–2#–1b–2b–3b–3#) places the most brilliant key last, as was conventional in commercial publications. This difference suggests that the Spanish manuscript is not a copy of the Thompson edition, but represents an earlier version of the set. In a third source, the undated manuscript preserved in the University of California, the order of the works is identical to that in the Madrid manuscript, and, more importantly, Manuel is also given as the composer.⁶³ As for the collection by "Pla" published by Bride and Longman & Broderip in London as well as by Hummel in Amsterdam

61 See Rasch, "Luigi Boccherini's six duets", pp. 78–79 and the bibliography given there.

62 Josep Dolcet, "L'obra dels germans Pla", p. 144. In 1762, María Josefa de Armendáriz married José María Magallón Mencos, Marquis of San Adrián, and she moved to his palace in Tudela, a town in the region of Navarra; see Antonio Castejón, "Magallón", in *Genealogías vascas*, available from <http://www.euskalnet.net> [accessed 23 April 2014].

63 The California manuscript (*US-LAum* Ms. 28) also contains an anonymous Italian song, an anonymous minuet and a set of sonatas by Carlo Antonio Campioni (1720–1788), according to Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM-Opac), <http://opac.rism.info/search?documentid=000111511> [accessed 23 April 2014].

(item 5 on the table), it is not clear whether it was composed in Spain, since it cannot be associated with any particular member of the family.

Despite the introduction in Madrid of modern patterns for the dissemination of music, the traditional system of patronage was still very much alive. In fact, a significant part of the located manuscripts (5 out of 13) contain duets with dedications to different members of the social elite. An emblematic case is that of a group of sources preserved in the Library of Congress (items 10, 15, 16 and 17 on the table) containing works dedicated to the Duque de Fernandina, the Duque de Alba or the Marqués de Villafranca, no doubt the same person: José Álvarez de Toledo y Gonzaga (1756–1796), XI Marquis of Villafranca, XIII Duke of Alba and VIII Duke of Fernandina, not by chance an amateur violinist.⁶⁴ This group of sources includes violin duets by four different composers: Montoro, Canales, Brunetti and Oliver.⁶⁵ The association of Montoro's and Canales' collections with Álvarez de Toledo is not problematic, given the explicit dedications found on the title pages (see Table 3.2). Regarding Brunetti's manuscript "per uso del Exmo. Sr. Duca d'Alba" [for the use of the Duke of Alba], Labrador's dating ca. 1782–1783 (according to the paper watermarks), together with the fact that Brunetti dedicated other violin works to José Álvarez de Toledo in close dates (for example, his sonata for violin and accompaniment L 40, dated 1778), point at the connection between musician and patron.⁶⁶ In contrast, the set of manuscripts containing Oliver's collection do not bear any dedication or date, nor do they share significant physical traits compared to the sources containing the other collections. However, the proximity of Oliver's source's class-mark and accession number and those of Canales' and Montoro's suggests that all three sources arrived at the Library of Congress roughly at the same time. This, in turn, suggests a common origin, possibly the alleged Villafranca library.⁶⁷

64 His wife inherited the Alba title in 1776, when the XII Duke, who was the owner of the above-mentioned collection in the 1777 inventory, died.

65 I am grateful to Lluís Bertran for the location of Montoro's source.

66 Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo crítico*, pp. 75 and 401. If the manuscript was dated before 1777, it could have been associated to the XII Duke of Alba.

67 According to Susan Clermont (Library of Congress, Washington), the manuscripts containing violin duets by Canales and Oliver came into the Washington collection sometime before 1930 and roughly at the same time, since their accession numbers are very close. Furthermore, at least two collections of violin and viola duets coming from Spain are preserved in the same library with close class-marks, namely Canales' *Duetto[s] de violin y viola (US-Wc M287 .A2 C212 case)* and Brunetti's L 95–99 (*US-Wc M287 .A2 B87, nos. 1, 3–6*), so we can speculate that these copies also belonged to

On the other hand, this search has brought to light two musical sources that contain the anonymous dance repertoire scored for two violins or flutes so frequently mentioned in the press (items 4 and 12, indicated with an asterisk: *): the manuscript *E-Mn MC/4824/2*, which contains more than 300 dances, including at least 13 “minués” for two violins,⁶⁸ and the pocket-format publication *Doce contradanzas nuevas abiertas hechas para el Príncipe N. Señor, las que se baylaron en este presente año de 1775, con su música de primero, y segundo violín, y la explicación de figuras* [Twelve new open country dances made for the Prince Our Lord, which were danced in this year of 1775: with their music for first and second violins, and the explanation of the steps]. The manuscript, which is especially interesting given the great number of pieces it contains (apart from the duets), can be dated about 1770, taking into account the paper watermarks and a mention to the Marquis of the Ensenada, who left Madrid in 1766, in the title of one of the pieces.⁶⁹ The references to the royal family in the titles of certain pieces allow for relating this source to Madrid.⁷⁰ Although the preserved copy does not contain a contemporary contents list, it may have been a music sampler, that is, a book containing pieces that could be purchased in a Madrilenian bookshop in manuscript copies.⁷¹ Interestingly, all the duets it contains are copied in separate parts, except for the last one (without page number; see Figure 3.1).

José Álvarez de Toledo y Gonzaga, who might have also played the viola. The hypothesis about the preservation of an important part of the Villafranca library in Washington appears in Marín, “El surgimiento del cuarteto y la consolidación de la sonata”, pp. 380–381.

- 68 In thirteen cases, there is no doubt that two consecutive pieces actually belong to a single duet, given their musical similarity and, in some cases, the similarity of the titles as well. Two other pieces bear titles that suggest that they may be incomplete duets, for example, “Segundo” [Second, perhaps meaning “Second violin”]. No page numbers have been written on this manuscript, which has not been studied in detail yet.
- 69 This watermark is that of the paper maker Llosas, from the province of Barcelona. Although it was employed during a lengthy period, from ca. 1750 to 1790, most of the known samples used in Spain are dated around 1770; see Oriol Valls i Subirà, *Paper and watermarks in Catalonia / El papel y sus filigranas en Cataluña*, Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, 12 (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 284–286; vol. 2, plate 82 no. 558. The Marquise of the Ensenada (1707–1781) is mentioned in piece no. 20 (numbering in the contents list added in the twentieth century).
- 70 Two examples of titles that make reference to the royal family are *El dichoso par o Boda real* [The happy couple or The royal wedding], no. 84; and *Las armas del rey* [The king’s weapons], no. 88.
- 71 I am grateful to José Carlos Gosálvez for his comments on this source.



Figure 3.1. Book of dances for one or two violins (last page with music, without numbering). E-Mn MC/4824/2. © Biblioteca Nacional de España

Doce contradanzas nuevas was issued in Madrid in 1775 and advertised in the local press the following year (GM, 9 January 1776). No doubt, it can be related to the fancy-dress balls that were fashionable in Spain from the 1760s, which generated a series of related publications containing explanations of the dance steps, simplified choreographic diagrams and musical examples.⁷² These public events were held in large rooms such as the Coliseo del Príncipe in Madrid, where a numerous orchestra was needed (as Luis Paret's painting *Baile en máscara*, dated ca. 1767, depicts).⁷³ In fact, the edition related to the 1768 Carnival ball held in Barcelona theatre informs that two orchestras took part then. The first orchestra included fourteen violins, four basses, two "clarines" [trumpets]

72 Such balls were fashionable in Madrid, Valencia, Sevilla and Barcelona in the 1760s and 70s. See Clara Rico Osés, "La contradanza en España en el siglo XVIII: Ferriol y Boxeraus, Minguet e Yrol y los bailes públicos", *Anuario musical* 64 (2009), pp. 207–209.

73 This painting can be viewed on Museo Nacional del Prado, "Galería online", <http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line> [accessed 23 April 2014].

and four oboes, while the second one had almost the same composition, albeit for the substitution of the trumpets for two horns (“trompas”).⁷⁴ Therefore, we can consider the duets in *Doce contradanzas nuevas* as arrangements of works for a large ensemble. Given the pocket format of the known Spanish publications related to fancy-dress balls, it can be assumed that they did not have a mere commemorative function, but also a practical one: it seems very likely that they were used as reference guides in the ballroom itself, and probably also for domestic rehearsals.⁷⁵ An arrangement for two violins, with or without a bass – *Doce contradanzas nuevas* contains not only twelve country dances for two violins, but also six minuets for two violins and a bass – would be perfectly suitable for private performances. The simplified notation of the musical examples in this source backs up the hypothesis that it was aimed at amateur musicians: many musical phrases bear not only repeat signs, but also a number “2” above, presumably translating the indication “to be played twice” (see *Contradanza no. 1* in Figure 3.2).

In contrast with other countries, the methods for violins or flutes published in eighteenth century Spain known to date do not include exercises scored for two equal instruments.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, this does not necessarily imply that this genre did not have a pedagogical function in Madrid. On the contrary, the manuscripts *E-Mn M/2241* and *E-Mn*

74 José Fábregas, *Contradanzas que se han de bailar en el teatro de esta ciudad* (Barcelona: Thomas Piferrer, 1768), preliminary pages (without page numbers). A copy of this publication can be found in Madrid: *E-Mn M/922*. To date, the music had been erroneously attributed to Rafael Rivas and Segismundo Torrents, but the title page of the publication makes clear that these were the orchestra directors in the ball.

75 Many of the publications of this type known to date were issued before the corresponding event took place and their titles make reference to the “inmediata” [forthcoming] celebration and to the pieces “que se han de bailar” [to be danced]; for example, *Contradanzas nuevas que se han de bailar en el amphitheatro de los Caños del Peral en los bailes de máscaras del inmediato carnaval de 1770 con sus músicas y explicaciones de figuras* (Madrid: Benito Monfort, 1770).

76 The three eighteenth-century Spanish violin treatises known so far are José Herrando, *Arte y puntual explicación*; Pablo Minguet e Yrol, *Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores y mas usuales como son la guitarra, tiple, vándola, cythara, clavicordio, organo, harpa, psalterio, bandurria, violín, flauta, travesera, flauta dulce y la flautilla* ([Madrid]: s.n. [Joaquín Ibarra?], s.a. [ca. 1754]), section 6; and Fernando Ferandiere, *Prontuario para el instrumentista de violín y cantor* (Málaga: Impresor de la Dignidad Episcopal y de la Sta. Iglesia, 1771). All three include lessons for violin and bass, but not for two violins. Regarding Spanish flute methods of the time, the only one I know is also contained in Pablo Minguet e Yrol, *Reglas, y advertencias generales* (section 7), where no musical pieces appear.



Figure 3.2. *Doce contradanzas nuevas abiertas hechas para el Príncipe N. Señor, las que se baylaron en este presente año de 1775, con su música de primero, y segundo violín, y la explicación de figuras* ([Madrid]: Ibarra, s.a. [ca. 1775]).

Contradanza 1 (without numbering). *E-Mn* MC/3602/34.

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M/2242, which are collective volumes of duets that come from the royal collections, bear signs of a pedagogical use.⁷⁷ These manuscript volumes feature four sections, each one copied on a different paper by a different hand. All four sections were presumably bound together some time in the nineteenth century, when a title page was added and the works in sections 2–4 were added to the contents page. The first section includes duets for two violins by Michel Joseph Gebauer and Giuseppe Maria Cambini⁷⁸ as well as arrangements, for the same scoring, of overtures from stage works

77 The fact that these two volumes do not bear the stamp of the public royal library (Biblioteca Real Pública) might indicate that they come from the private library of the Spanish royal family (Biblioteca Real Privada).

78 For example, Giuseppe Maria Cambini, *Six duos à deux violons... Œuvre IV* (Paris: Sieber, [1776]) are copied in *E-Mn* M/2241, pp. 20–34.

by composers who were popular in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Paris, such as André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry⁷⁹ and Niccolò Piccinni.⁸⁰ All this suggests that it could be a copy of a group of Parisian publications from around 1800 undertaken shortly afterwards.⁸¹ Didactic indications are found in this section in both volumes. They were written in ink by the copyist in the beginning of numerous movements and concern their specific technical purpose, for example “Para enseñar a ligar las dos primeras notas al bajar el arco, y a soltar las otras dos, subiendo el arco” [For teaching how to play the two first notes slurred, down-bow, and the other two separate, up-bow]⁸² or “Para enseñar a contar compases de espera y acostumbrarse al diálogo de los dos violines” [For teaching how to count silent bars and to get used to the dialogue between the two violins].⁸³ Furthermore, the first violin part (*E-Mn M/2241*) also features signs of use written in pencil by a different hand, such as “Se repite. No se hace calderón” [To be repeated. Do not do a fermata],⁸⁴ “Para saltar dedos (... ilegible) y no el mismo dedo esto es para saltar de una 7^a 8^a 9^a 5^a 6^a 10^a &a” [For jumping with the fingers (...) and not the same finger, that is, for jumping a 7th, 8th, 9th, 5th, 6th, 10th, etc.],⁸⁵ and even a question about harmony: “¿No se puede bajar la 1^a de la 7^a en primer grado?” [Is it

79 For example, an arrangement of Grétry's introduction from *Richard Coeur de Lion* is found in pp. 71–74 of *E-Mn M/2241*. The original work was premiered in 1784, according to David Charlton & M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, “Grétry, André-Ernest-Modeste”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43361> [accessed 23 April 2014].

80 For example, an arrangement of Piccinni's overture from *Iphigenie en Tauride* (premiered in 1781) is found in pp. 94–95 of *E-Mn M/2241*; see Dennis Libby (with Julian Rushton), “Piccinni, Niccolò”, in *Grove music online, Oxford music online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42863pg1> [accessed 23 April 2014].

81 Gebauer himself published a collection of this type of arrangements, including works by Grétry: *Petits airs pour deux violons d'une difficulté progressive a l'usage des commençans arrangés par M. J. Gebauer. 1.ere suite* (Paris: Naderman, s.a. [ca. 1797]; Lyon: Garnier, s.a. [ca. 1797]). By the 1790s, Paris music amateurs were familiar with this type of arrangements; for instance, five collections of “pièces françaises et italiennes” arranged for two violins or flutes with a bass by Louis Granier (1740–1800) were edited by La Chevardière in 1762–1765.

82 *E-Mn M/2241*, p. 8. Punctuation and orthography in quotes from these manuscripts have been modernised.

83 *E-Mn M/2241*, p. 18.

84 *E-Mn M/2241*, p. 12.

85 *E-Mn M/2241*, p. 61.

not allowed to make descend the 1st of the 7th on first degree?].⁸⁶ These annotations were probably made by a violin student who had a profound knowledge of music language (although he had some doubts about harmony issues) and a good command of language in general. It is tempting to hypothesize that this manuscript belonged to a musically trained member of the social elite, who performed these duets in the company of his violin teacher.

The other sections of *E-Mn M/2241* and *E-Mn M/2242* contain three of the sets of duets by composers active in Spain included in Table 3.2: *Dos duetos á dos violines* by Juan Oliver (item 19), a manuscript copy of Brunetti's *Six duets* opus 3 (item 14) and *Tres dúos* by Manuel Coco (item 20). The dating of these copies is problematic. The works by Coco can be dated before 1819, when he was already living in Cuba;⁸⁷ yet this does not necessarily imply that this particular copy is also from before that year. The section containing Brunetti's opus 3 is not a copy of the 1776 edition of the collection, since they differ with respect to the order of the keys, but in the absence of other evidence it is risky to suggest an approximate date.⁸⁸ The same is true of the copy of Oliver's two duets, which could date from a wide span of time, from the 1770s (when duets by the composer, who had just come back to Spain after several years abroad, were listed in the Alba inventory) to 1833 (when the composer died). I suggest the provisional date ca. 1800 for all the sections in this manuscript; hopefully future research may allow for a more precise dating.

Although this is the earliest evidence of the didactic use of duets in Madrid found so far, the genre may have been used there for the perfection of instrumental skills well before 1800, as suggested by the above-mentioned works dedicated to specific amateur violinists, for example, Brunetti's duets L 89–91, dedicated to the XIII Duke of Alba ca. 1782. It is also plausible that the previous (XII) Duke of Alba, Fernando de Silva Álvarez de Toledo, played some of the duets in his extraordinary library before 1777. For instance, he could have played the viola part of the duets for flute and viola that Luis Misón dedicated to him ca. 1766, or even the violin duets published by Herrando in 1760, given that the latter

86 *E-Mn M/2241*, p. 65. I ignore the exact meaning of this question, but “the 1st of the 7th on first degree” may make reference to the upper note in a seventh chord on the tonic.

87 See note 55.

88 The publication presents the keys in a logical order, following the cycle of fifths from sharps to flats (A–D–G–C–F–B \flat), while the manuscript presents them in a non-logical order (B \flat –D–F–C–A–G). In both sources, each duet is labelled as no. 1, 2, and so on.

was his violin and viola teacher in those years.⁸⁹ Women also seem to have taken part in private performances of duets, even at remote places such as Tudela, as illustrated by the case of the Marquise of San Adrián, who possessed a copy of Manuel Pla's duets. She might have known José Castel's duets as well, since both were living in Tudela at the time the latter's collection was published.⁹⁰ In fact, the title page of Castel's 1775 Paris publication makes reference to the music master position he was occupying at Tudela Cathedral then.⁹¹ However, it does not seem likely that the Marquise sponsored this publication, which bears no dedication.

On the other hand, Madrid periodicals inform of at least five public concerts given in the period 1787–1797 by pairs of wind virtuosos, where unaccompanied duets may have been performed. For instance, the Julián brothers played a “concierto para dos flautas” [concert for two flutes] by Luis Misón at least twice in 1789, whereas José Trota and Francisco Isabella played “concerts for two horns” by another local composer, Blas de Laserna, in 1797.⁹² The nature of these “conciertos” is not clear (to my knowledge, none of them has been located), but some type of accompaniment is only mentioned in one case: “con fagot obligado tocarán un concierto de dos oboes D. Manuel y D. Antonio García” [with obligado bassoon, Manuel and Antonio García will play a concert for two oboes].⁹³ This text shows that the term “concierto” did not imply the use of a large

89 See Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba*, pp. 185–189.

90 After several years in Madrid, in 1773 Castel returned to his hometown, Tudela, and remained there until his death in 1807; see Fernández-Cortés, “La música instrumental de José Castel”, pp. 516–519.

91 *Six duets pour deux violins composés par Giuseppe Kastell maître de Chapelle de la Collegiale de Tudele, opera I^a* (Paris: La Chevardière, ca. 1775).

92 “Hoy a las 6 y media en punto en el Coliseo de los Caños del Peral [...] repetirá[n] D. Manuel y D. José Julián, hermanos, músicos de este teatro y de las Reales Guardias Walonas, el famoso concierto de dos flautas compuesto por el célebre profesor D. Luis Misón, que tocaron el día 22 del presente [...]” [Today at 6:30 in the Caños del Peral Theatre, Manuel and José Julián, brothers, musicians of this theatre and of the Royal Guard, will repeat the famous concert for two flutes composed by Luis Misón that they played on the 22 of March] (DM, 26 March 1789). Four other cases of public concerts given by couples of wind virtuosos are reported by the same periodical from 1787 to 1797: a “concierto” for two clarinets was performed in 1787 (DM, 10 March 1787), Manuel and Antonio García played a “concierto” for two oboes (DM, 19 March 1789), José Trota and Francisco Isabella played “conciertos” for two horns by Blas de Laserna (DM, 22 March 1797), and José Álvarez and Eugenio de Laserna played “conciertos” for two oboes (DM, 3 March 1797).

93 DM, 9 March 1789.

instrumental ensemble in eighteenth century Madrid,⁹⁴ thus we can speculate that some of the “conciertos” mentioned in these advertisements were actually unaccompanied duets. In addition, it seems no coincidence that, within the located corpus of duets related to the Spanish capital, some of them imply the improvisation of cadenzas and include technically demanding passages.⁹⁵ This suggests that, in Madrid, the duet could have been involved not only in amateur music making but also in some type of public performances, as was the case in other European capitals such as Paris and Vienna.⁹⁶ The reduced dimensions of these works (both in terms of instrumentation and length) suggest that they could have been performed at semiprivate urban contexts such as the “academias” [academies], which existed in Madrid at least from the 1770s.⁹⁷

As this section has shown, the location of more than 100 musical sources confirms the notable success of the duet for violins or flutes in Madrid from 1770 to 1800. Furthermore, it allows for the association of the genre with various performance contexts, from domestic rehearsals of dance music to the perfection of instrumental skills on the part of members of the social elite. This second context fostered the composition of a more exclusive repertoire, presumably suited to the specific technical needs of the performers from the upper class to whom they were dedicated. Yet the compositional refinement and technical difficulty of some of these duets suggests that they did not only have a practical function, but also an aesthetic one, that is, they may have been conceived not only for practising on the violin or the flute, but also for being listened to at private or semiprivate concerts. The fact that duets by Gaetano Brunetti, José Castel and Manuel Pla were published abroad in the 1770s is also re-

94 This use of the term “concert” is also found in contemporary advertisements published abroad, for example, the one concerning the performance by Juan and José Pla of “a concerto for the psaltery [...] that was accompanied [...] on the violin” (*Mercur de France*, 28 March 1752); translated quote in Haakenson, “Two Spanish brothers revisited”, p. 85.

95 See section 3 below.

96 Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini’s six duets”, p. 112; Mazurowicz, *Das Streichduett in Wien*, pp. 169–172.

97 The existence of music academies in Madrid in 1776 is attested by a poem by Tomás de Iriarte (1750–1791): “Noches hay en que se hayan congregados / veinte y acaso más aficionados/ que su parte ejecutan de repente (...)” [There are evenings when twenty or even more [music] amateurs gather and sight-read their part (...); with rhyme in the original]. See Tomás de Iriarte, “Epístola VII. Escrita en 8 de enero de 1776”, in Tomás de Iriarte, *Colección de obras en verso y prosa* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1805), pp. 65–74, excerpt from p. 72.

markable: it shows that composers based in Madrid took part to a certain extent in the consolidation of the international trade of violin duets, precisely at the moment of the rise in popularity of the genre itself.⁹⁸

THE REPERTOIRE

From the standpoint of style, we can distinguish two groups of works within the located corpus. No doubt, the dances constitute an independent category of duets, since they differ significantly from the rest of the repertoire, especially regarding formal structures. As Examples 3.1 and 3.2 show, they are very brief pieces generally structured in two sections of eight to twelve bars each, both repeated. These pieces are not demanding from the point of view of the violin technique (the register does not exceed the limits of the first position and no complex double stopping is found), although a varied range of keys is employed, from 3 sharps to 3 flats, including not only major keys but also minor ones (for example, the first part of the country-dance in Example 3.1 is in E \flat major and the second one in C minor). In addition, the textures employed in these pieces are not as simple as could be expected, since they are not limited to a melody versus accompaniment type of writing where the first violin plays the main role (as in the first part of Example 3.1, where the second violin is assigned a stereotypical accompaniment pattern consisting of the oscillation of two notes). On the contrary, these dances also feature sections in parallel motion (as in the second part of Example 3.1) as well as canonical writing (as in the incipit of the *Minuete portugués* in Example 3.2).

The rest of the corpus consists of “dúos”, “duetos” and “divertimentos” articulated in two or three movements (the only exception is the collection by Oliver preserved in Washington, where each work consists of one single movement), where the last movement is generally a minuet or a rondo. However, this repertoire is not homogeneous; different compositional strategies and different degrees of technical difficulty can be detected. In order to offer a first overview of this repertoire, I shall compare general organisation features in the located collections,⁹⁹ including

98 According to Rudolf Rasch, the heyday of the duet took place from ca. 1765 to ca. 1815. See Rasch, “Luigi Boccherini’s six duets”, p. 110.

99 Antonio Montoro’s two duets dated 1773 and Juan Oliver’s two duets dated ca. 1800 have not been included in the analysis that follows because there is no evidence that they made part of collections.

Example 3.1. *Doce contradanzas nuevas abiertas hechas para el Príncipe N. Señor, las que se baylaron en este presente año de 1775, con su música de primero, y segundo violín, y la explicación de figuras* ([Madrid]: Ibarra, [1775]). *Contradanza 3* (without numbering). E-Mn MC/3602/34. Numbers in bold represent those found in the publication, which presumably reiterate the repeats

the number of works per set, the number of movements per work, the keys and the types of movements that are employed.

As Table 3.3 shows, the majority of the collections contain either three or six works, following the conventions of the time. In contrast, no rule is found in relation to the number of movements, that can be either two or three. With respect to keys, they reflect the same trends found in contemporary violin genres such as the violin sonata: main keys are almost always major and the key signature rarely exceeds three accidentals. Although only three composers (Herrando, Pla and Canales) use a minor key as the main one, most composers shifted to the minor in order to enhance contrasts between movements or sections; for instance, a minor key is used in central slow movements by Pla (in the collection dated 1770), Boccherini, Brunetti (op. 3) and Canales.

Example 3.2. Book of dances for one or two violins (Madrid, ca. 1770).

Piece no. 2, *Minuete portugués* [A]*. E-Mn MC/4824/2

[Violino] Primo

[Violino] Segundo

* There are two pieces entitled '*Minuete portugués*' in this manuscript; that is why I make a distinction between [A] and [B].

As for types of movements, the predominant patterns are *fast binary-slow-minuet* and *fast binary-slow-rondo*. Two-movement works tend to suppress the slow movement, which is only placed in the first position in the earliest collections, namely Herrando's and Manuel Pla's, although the former is not consistent in this respect. The general tendency in the whole corpus is to start with a movement in a fast or moderate tempo and in a binary metre (2/4 or 4/4). Indications such as Presto or Vivace are rarely found; in contrast, intermediate speeds are suggested in most cases with indications such as Allegro Moderato, Allegro poco or Andante. These fast or moderate movements feature various binary structures, from simple binary form to sonata form through binary forms with a reprise of the opening but without a contrasting or secondary thematic material. In this sense, the variety is, again, analogous to that of contemporary violin sonatas.

Table 3-3a. Collections of duets for violins or flutes related to Madrid (1760–1775). General organisation and types of movements

	Herrando, 1760	Boccherini, op. 3, 1761	M. Pla, 1766a	Pla, 1770ca	Canobbio, 1771	Castel, op. 1, 1775ca
No. of works	3	6	6	6	6	6
No. of movements	3	3	3	3	2	2
Main keys	E-G-g (M/m, 2b-4#)	G-F-A-Bb-Eb-D (M, 3b-3#)	G-D-A-F-Bb-Eb (M, 3b-3#)	D-G-b-C-e-G (M/m, o-2#)	D-G-C-G-A-C (M, o-3#)	C-F-A-D-G-Eb (M, 3b-3#)
i	Fast binary Slow	Fast binary Slow	Slow	Fast binary	Fast binary Multisectional	Fast binary Slow
ii	Slow (I) Fugue	Slow (IV, vi, i)	Fast binary	Slow (V, IV, i, III)	Minuet Minuet + Trio	Minuet Minuet + Trio Rondo
iii	Minuet Multisectional	Minuet + Trio Rondo Fast binary	Minuet	Minuet + Trio	–	–

Key: no. = number; o = no alterations (C major or A minor); 1766a = 1766 or before; 1770ca = circa 1770; – = there is not a second, third or fourth movement.

Table 3-3.b. Collections of duets for violins or flutes related to Madrid (1776–ca. 1800). General organisation and types of movements

	Brunetti, op. 3, 1776	Canales, 1773–1786ca	Brunetti, 1782ca ¹	Oliver, 1797a	Cañada, 1800ca ²	Coco, 1800–1819ca
No. of works	6	6	[6]	6	[6]	3
No. of movements	3	3	2	1	2	2, 3 or 4
Main keys	A–D–G–C–F–Bb (M, 2b–3#)	g–C–D–G–F–Bb (M/m, 2b–2#)	?–D–C–Eb–?–? (M, 3b–2#)	Bb–C–Bb–C–D–C (M, 2b–2#)	C–F–G (M, 1b–1##)	A–Bb–Eb (M, 3b–3#)
i	Fast binary	Fast binary	Fast binary Fast	Fast binary Minuet	Fast binary	Fast binary
ii	Slow (IV, V, vi)	Slow (IV, vi, VI)	Minuet Rondo (M–m–M– coda)	–	Minuet	Fast binary Minuet+Trio Slow (IV)
iii	Rondo	Minuet+Trio Rondo	–	–	–	Minuet+Trio
iv	–	–	–	–	–	Rondo (M–m–M)

¹ Analysis based on L. 90 and L. 91 only. I have not been able to examine a copy of L. 89 before the publication of this essay, but the general organisation features described in Labrador, *Gaetano Brunetti: catálogo*

² Analysis based on three duets: no. 1, no. 5 and a duet without number. *critico*, p. 106 coincide with L. 90 and L. 91. The other three duets that belong to this collection have not been located so far.

2 Analysis based on three duets: no. 1, no. 5 and a duet without number.

Another similarity between the two genres is the strategy to introduce a slow movement in a different key – often minor – right after the fast opening movement, with the aim of providing contrasts as well as an opportunity for the performers to show their fantasy and skill in ornamentation. This is often implied by fermatas (as in Brunetti, op. 3/3/ii, reproduced in Example 3.3; in the 1776 publication the word *cadenza* appears next to the fermata sign in bar 33). How this would have been actually performed in the particular case of the duet is an issue that the sources discussed here do not specify: did the first violin improvise alone, while the second one was waiting to restart, or were improvised dialogues also possible? We can suppose that it depended on the ability of the performers. Professional musicians such as Juan and José Pla were surely able to improvise cadenzas together, bearing in mind the success they achieved in their public performances, according to contemporary reports.¹⁰⁰ Another strategy for creating contrast was the search for different timbres; Manuel Coco, for example, prescribes the use of the *sordina* in both violins in his *Andante moderato con spressione*, no. 1/ii, at least in the sole source known to date.

No doubt, the greater variety of formal schemes is found in final movements. The preferred types are the minuet, the minuet-trio and the rondo. Within minuets, central sections in contrasting keys – sometimes denominated trio or minuet II – are very often found, for example, in Canobbio's no. 4/ii and Coco's no. 1/iii (where central sections shift to the relative minor), and in Pla's collection dated ca. 1770 (where they shift to different neighbouring keys: the dominant, the subdominant, or the relative major or minor). Rondos can also feature ABA' structures, for example, Brunetti's *Rondeau con motto* from his *Divertimento cuarto para el Duque de Alba* (L 91/ii), and Coco's *Rondo presto*, no. 1/iv, which also shift to a different key in the central section. In the case of Brunetti's mentioned rondo, according to the autograph an additional "coda per finire" should be played after the third section (A'), thus emphasising the end of the whole duet. Besides these schemes, unusual multi-sectional structures are found in closing movements, for example in Herrando's collection. The most outstanding example is his *Minué-Adagio-Allegro fugado Allegro assai*, no. 1/iii.¹⁰¹ It consists of two main sec-

100 Haakenson, "Two Spanish brothers revisited", pp. 84–86. A especially interesting report is Mr. Gilbert's 1753 observation that the Pla brothers were "[...] directly one fine voice singing two parts, so united both in tone and manner that they are not distinguishable from each other".

101 Modern edition in José Herrando, *Tres dúos nuevos a dos violines*, ed. Antoni Pons Seguí (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Ars Hispana–Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2011).

Example 3.3. Gaetano Brunetti, *Six duos pour deux violons, op. 3*
 (Paris: La Chevardière, 1776), *Dueto 3/ii (Largo)*

Largo

Violino 1°

Violino 2°

5

9

12

17

21

25

28

31 *Cadenza*

36

38

39

tions: the first one is a minuet in two parts that are respectively in E major and E minor; it is followed by a brief transitional Adagio that re-establishes E major and leads to the second section, the Allegro fugado, which does not actually feature a complex two-part fugato writing, but a conventional melody versus accompaniment texture. It must be said that multisectional movements where sections in contrasting time signatures and tempi are juxtaposed, together with non-complex fugues, are also found in violin sonatas composed in Madrid in the 1750s.¹⁰² In contrast, these types of movements are not particularly frequent in the international repertoire of duets. Therefore, the inclusion of these schemes in duets by Herrando and Canobbio (in his *Andante–Allegro assai–Andante–Allegro assai*, no. 5/i) can be considered a local stylistic trait.

On the other hand, the confluence of specific configurations of movements, specific degrees of technical difficulty and the use of more or less complex textures in a number of “dúos”, “duetos” and “divertimentos” related to Madrid allows for identifying two main models within this corpus that can be labelled as “easy duets” and “virtuosic” ones. Yet not all of the examined duets fit in one of these two types.

The “easy” type is best exemplified by José Castel’s and José Cañada’s collections. They only include two movements, both in a moderate tempo; the first generally fits in the fast – or moderate – binary type and the second one is nearly always a minuet. Yet there are exceptions in Castel’s *Duet no. 4* (opened with a Larghetto) and his *Duet no. 5* (which ends with an unusual rondo scheme). Within these works, major keys are used almost throughout; changes to the relative minor are limited to brief trio sections in two of the minuets (Castel employs the Minuet–Trio type in duets nos. 1 and 6), whereas modulation is virtually absent. First movements, which are in a moderate tempo, feature clear-cut and rational formal structures; for example, sonata form is employed in Castel’s *Andante*, no. 3/i.¹⁰³ However, the simplicity of the “easy” duets does not only apply to compositional strategies but also to technical standard: besides the moderation of the tempo, double stops are generally limited to accompaniment patterns and codettas, and register rarely goes beyond the first position of the violin. Thematic materials are often based on scales and arpeggios; in addition, many motives are repeated several times. Homorythmic textures,

102 They are found, for instance, in violin sonatas by Francisco Manalt and José Herrando; see Lombardía, “Las sonatas para violín y bajo en Madrid”.

103 An edition of this movement is included in Fernández-Cortés, “La música instrumental de José Castel”, pp. 528–529.

either in parallel motion or in a soloist-plus-accompanist fashion, also contribute to make these works ideal for amateur performers (see the opening of Cañada's *Andante*, 5/i, in Example 3.4). It comes as no surprise that La Chevardière accepted to publish a collection such as Castel's in Paris, where works entitled "duo facile" were commercial among violin beginners looking for chamber music to play.¹⁰⁴ In the case of Cañada, the composition of easy duets might be explained by the technical needs of the dedicatee, the unknown Francisco Foncada.

Example 3.4. José Cañada, *Dueto 5/i* (*Andante*), bars. 1-17. *E-Mn Mp*/3172/10

Andante

Violín 1º

Violín 2º

6

10

15

In contrast, collections such as Boccherini's opus 3 and Brunetti's opus 3 reflect a model of duet that points at its performance by advanced violinists, given that double stops, imitation and elaborate rapid figurations are much more frequent (see Brunetti's op. 3, *Largo*, 3/ii in Example 3.3).

¹⁰⁴ See notes 7 and 8.

They are organised in three movements, following the pattern *fast binary–slow–minuet/rondo*. As explained above, the slow movement shifts to a neighbouring key and offers the opportunity to improvise cadenzas. The fact that Boccherini's collection – composed in 1761 (i.e. before the composer arrived in Spain) and first published in Paris in 1768 – is the earliest one of this type suggests that it could have been taken as a model for Brunetti. This type of duet also had its parallels abroad, as exemplified by Paris editions entitled “duo dialogué” or “duo concertant”.

Other composers active in Madrid wrote three-movement duets including central slow movements with fermatas, for example Canales, but the technical standard of the latter's collection is not as high as that of Brunetti's – not by chance one of the most prominent violin virtuosos in Madrid court, while Canales was a cellist. The opposite case is found in Canobbio's set of duets, whose predominant organisation pattern fits the “easy duet” type (*fast binary–minuet*) but whose technical difficulty is not suitable for amateur performers – again, it seems no coincidence that Canobbio was himself a virtuoso violinist. For instance, in his *Allegro, 2/i*, the first violin plays brilliant arpeggios and scales, in a passage that ends with a fermata, possibly ornamented (see Example 3.5). Besides, the use of the low register in the second violin, which makes wide use of the G string (i.e. the register below d' is often used, as in the example), makes clear that the indication “para flautas o violines” [for violins or flutes] in the title of the collection responds to a commercial strategy rather than to the actual nature of the set.

In conclusion, the repertoire for two violins or flutes composed in eighteenth-century Madrid shows a wide variety of formal models and technical standards. However, some general trends can be detected, namely the composition of duets in sets of three or six works, the preference for major keys with a limited number of accidentals, the opening with a binary movement in a fast or moderate tempo, the closing with a minuet and the predominance of a melody versus accompaniment texture. Duets where only two movements are included and the technical difficulty is not high can be classified as “easy” ones, presumably conceived for the amateurs' market, as exemplified by Castel's set. In contrast, the addition of a central slow movement in a contrasting key with fermatas and a higher technical standard characterise “virtuosic” duets such as those in Brunetti's opus 3. Although the spare dance pieces do not fit in these two categories, their keys and textures do not differ significantly from the rest of the repertoire: in fact, they could perfectly act as closing movements within the “duos”, “duetos” and “divertimentos”.

Example 3.5. Carlo Canobbio, *Dueto 2/i* (Allegro), bars. 14-31. E-Mn MC/3887/1-2

Allegro

Violino primo
o flauto

Violino secondo

14

17

21

24

27

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, the duet for violins or flutes was intensely cultivated in Madrid from 1750 to 1800, especially from 1770 onwards, as both documentary and musical sources clearly show. The more than 100 located works, together with the 1777 Alba inventory and thirteen of the located advertisements, make unequivocal reference to duets for violins or flutes by at least fourteen different composers active in the Spanish capital: José Herrando, Carlo Canobbio, Luigi Boccherini, Joaquín Asiaín, Domingo

Calvo, Gaetano Brunetti, Manuel Canales, Manuel Mencía, Juan Oliver, Jaime Rosquellas, Antonio Montoro, Manuel Cocco, José Cañada, José Castel and Manuel Pla.

Furthermore, this corpus reflects the same three functions detected in the international repertoire of violin duets: (1) an entertainment function, exemplified by the commercially successful arrangements of minuets and country-dances from public balls (for example, those in *Doce contradanzas nuevas*); (2) a didactic function exemplified by the “easy duets” (for example, Castel’s) and attested by the manuscript *E-Mn M/2241*; and (3) an aesthetic function, as suggested by the higher compositional refinement and technical difficulty of some of the collections (for example, Brunetti’s opus 3). This diversity of functions is paralleled by a diversity of performance contexts, which included domestic rehearsals of dance music, private teaching of the violin and, presumably, semiprivate performances in the residences of the social elite.

The case of the duet also reflects the integration of Madrid in the international trade of chamber music during the last third of the century, not only from the point of view of importation (numerous Paris and London editions of duets reached Madrilenian bookshops and private libraries) but also from that of exportation, since duets by three composers active in Madrid (Brunetti, Castel and Manuel Pla) were published abroad in the 1770s. All this coincided with the surge in popularity of the genre in the main European capitals, thus portraying late-eighteenth-century Madrid as an updated musical centre in the field of violin music.